1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed
● 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with-
882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a
[611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

591 But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause.
166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre-
157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility ever provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen-
[696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken [591]
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

587 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 682 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 ●591 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

very clear. It is apparently a "slang" word which has come into more and more common usage in late years. Most of the old people object to its wide use, and there are few young people who do not recognize that the other forms are more proper, even if they seldom use them. In the old days it was often customary for a young man (especially if a captive) who wished to marry a girl and who approached her brother with gifts, to call him *nĭmĭ?ara?*, and thus formally admit his desire for the man's sister. As a brave warrior presumably would not have to resort to this somewhat demeaning method of getting a wife, the use of the term is looked upon as being particularly unfortunate by some of the older people. Related to this marriage custom is the use of the term by two friends who cooperated in obtaining women for each other for non-marital purposes. These "sweetheart"-liaisons were apt to last for some time, and the women involved often called each other *nĭmĭ?ara?* also, as well as the more correct sister terms. This seems to be the only possible basis for women's present use of the word, but it is rather tenuous, and certainly "incorrect," even here. While in the marriage situation above the use of the term might be continued for some time between the men concerned, if one of them attained any marked prestige, it was always dropped in favor of the proper usage. The use of the term was somewhat correlated with band membership.

Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law.

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

606 efforts at raiding and such, to move away and set up for himself. In this case his wife's mother, if she were widowed, often came along to live with them; sometimes both the wife's parents lived in a tipi nearby.

Relations with parents-in-law are very incompletely defined in the many other less formal marriage set-ups, and it is not profitable to attempt to generalize upon them, except perhaps to say that a modified form of the above was usually the desideratum. There is no feeling that the parents of the two spouses should be especially friendly to each other or the reverse; this also depends primarily on the circumstances. As noted above, the terminology does not recognize any relationship between them.

603 *Grandparents.* A parent-in-law is a very short way from being a grandparent, and many of the factors operative in one relationship affect the other. [591] [576] Thus the comparatively frequent matrilocal residence is reflected in the fact that it is the maternal grandparents who are considered the closest; we have seen above that a person wishing to be respectful to a stranger always addresses him as a maternal grandfather. This term is also applied to treasured inanimate objects, and even to parts of the body. It is thus not surprising that children are said to learn the words for maternal grandparents before those for the paternal ones.

Often the grandmothers' most important function is caring for their children's smaller children (see p. 86). Thus TY received a great deal of attention and instruction from both her grandmothers, and especially from her mother's mother, until they died, and even felt them to be more of a factor in her life at this time than her own mother. When a married daughter moved away after a few years of amicable matrilocal residence, her mother sometimes kept one of the children of whom she was especially fond to bring up herself; this child then usually called her mother.

Joking with grandparents is usually confined to the maternal ones, and is not carried on after the children reach maturity. As mentioned in the preceding section, some inappropriate relationship is pretended, and jokes are made in terms of the behavior expected of such a relationship. The children may call them by parent-in-law terms; the girls are then berated about being seen with various boys, usually ones they particularly dislike, the boys are told to do odd jobs for their "in-laws," and so on. Or they may reciprocally use various combinations of sibling and sibling-in-law terms, leading to *hâipia* jokes, though apparently without the physical aspects. The grandchildren may even put the grandparents into the children's generation, with appropriate comments, or reverse such affectionate terms as "my dear little ones" which the grandparents usually apply to them. A widowed grandmother may also be teased about various older men in the community, though usually not if she actually has a particular liking for any of them.

Relations with great-grandparents are slight, since, when this relationship

601 195 namí·ʔ *younger sister* [námI address form; **námiʔ** reference form].

taká·ʔ *sibling* [tákA address form; **tákaʔ** reference form].

tamí·ʔ *younger brother* [támI address form; tamiʔ reference form].

paví·ʔ *older brother* [pá·vI address form; páviʔ reference form].

pahá·ʔ *father's sister* [páhA address form; páhaʔ reference form].

kakú·ʔ *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; kákuʔ reference form].

tokó·ʔ, totó·ʔ *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tókoʔ reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kĩnú·ʔ *father's father* [kĩnU address form; kĩnuʔ reference form]; hucí·ʔ *father's mother* [húcI address form; húciʔ reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first used for all grandparents. This suggests matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

[591]

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned.

195 193 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -cI and the related -sI to words; e.g., haicí·ʔ for haíc *friend*. Reduplication,[1] as might be inferred

[113] [1] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child.

[p. 12-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12.